Epiphanius of Salamis

(c. 310/320 – c. 403)

BRIEFING

Epiphanius of Salamis (Ancient Greek: Ἐπιφάνιος; c. 310–320 – 403) was the bishop of Salamis, Cyprus, at the end of the 4th century. He is considered a saint and a Church Father by the Eastern Orthodox, Catholic Churches, and some Presbyterians. He gained a reputation as a strong defender of orthodoxy. He is best known for composing the *Panarion*, a compendium of eighty heresies, which included also pagan religions and philosophical systems. There has been much controversy over how many of the quotations attributed to him by the Byzantine Iconoclasts were actually by him. Regardless of this, he was clearly strongly against some contemporary uses of images in the church.

LIFE

Epiphanius was either born into a Romaniote Christian family or became a Christian in his youth. Either way, he was a Romaniote Jew who was born in the small settlement of Besanduk, near Eleutheropolis (modern-day Beit Guvrin in Israel), and lived as a monk in Egypt, where he was educated and came into contact with Valentinian groups. He returned to Roman Palestine around 333, when he was still a young man, and he founded a monastery at Ad near Eleutheropolis, which is often mentioned in the polemics of Jerome with Rufinus and John, Bishop of Jerusalem. He was ordained a priest, and lived and studied as superior of the monastery in Ad that he founded for thirty years and gained much skill and knowledge in that position. In that position he gained the ability to speak in several languages, including Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin, and was called by Jerome on that account *Pentaglossos* ("Five-tongued").

Epiphanius was a contemporary of Hilarion (c. 291–371), an anchorite who followed the example of his Egyptian mentor, Anthony the Great (c. 251–356) retreating to the wilderness in the coastal area near Gaza and is considered by his biographer Jerome to be the founder of Palestinian monasticism, and Chariton (mid-3rd century – c. 350), founder of monasticism in the Judaean Desert.

Epiphanius' reputation for learning prompted his nomination and consecration as Bishop of Salamis, Cyprus, in 365 or 367, a post which he held until his death. He was also the Metropolitan of the Church of Cyprus. He served as bishop for nearly forty years, as well as travelled widely to combat differing beliefs. He was present at a synod in Antioch (376) where the Trinitarian questions were debated against the heresy of Apollinarianism. He upheld the position of Bishop Paulinus, who had the support of Rome, over that of Meletius of Antioch, who was supported by the Eastern Churches. In 382 he was present at the Council of Rome, again upholding the cause of Paulinus.

ORIGENIST CONTROVERSY AND DEAHT

During a visit to Palestine in 394 or 395, while preaching in Jerusalem, he attacked Origen's followers and urged the Bishop of Jerusalem, John II, to condemn his writings. He urged John to be careful of the "offence" of images in the churches. He noted that when travelling in Palestine he went into a church to pray and saw a curtain with an image of Christ or a saint which he tore down. He told Bishop John that such images were "opposed ... to our religion" (see below). This event sowed the seeds of conflict which erupted in the dispute between Rufinus and John against Jerome and Epiphanius. Epiphanius fuelled this conflict by ordaining a priest for Jerome's monastery at Bethlehem, thus trespassing on John's jurisdiction. This dispute continued during the 390s, in particular in the literary works by Rufinus and Jerome attacking one another.

In 399, the dispute took on another dimension, when the Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, who had initially supported John, changed his views and started persecuting Origenist monks in Egypt. As a result of this persecution, four of these monks, the so-called Tall Brothers, fled to Palestine, and then travelled to Constantinople, seeking support and spreading the controversy. John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, gave the monks shelter. Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria saw his chance to use this event to bring down his enemy Chrysostom: in 402 he summoned a council in Constantinople, and invited those supportive of his anti-Origenist views. Epiphanius, by this time nearly 80, was one of those summoned, and began the journey to Constantinople. However, when he realised he was being used as a tool by Theophilus against Chrysostom, who had given refuge to the monks persecuted by Theophilus and who were appealing to the emperor, Epiphanius started back to Salamis, only to die on the way home in 403.

ORIGENIST CRISES

The **Origenist crises** or **Origenist controversies** were two major theological controversies in early Christianity involving the teachings of followers of the third-century Alexandrian theologian Origen (c. 184 – c. 253).

The First Origenist Crisis began in the late fourth century in Palestine and later spread to Egypt. It dealt with ideas discussed in some of Origen's writings that some members of the church hierarchy deemed heretical. Objections against Origen's writings and demands for his condemnation were first raised by Epiphanius of Salamis and later taken up by Jerome and Theophilus of Alexandria, who were both initially supporters of Origen's teachings. Origen's defenders included Tyrannius Rufinus and John II, Bishop of Jerusalem.

During the crisis, Theophilus condemned Origen's incorporeal, non-anthropomorphic conception of God, a view which Theophilus himself had previously vocally supported. The crisis concluded with John Chrysostom, the Patriarch of Constantinople, being removed from his position at the Synod of the Oak in 403 for harboring Origenist monks who had been banished from Alexandria.

The Second Origenist Crisis occurred in the 6th century during the reign of Justinian I. It is less well-documented than the first crisis and dealt more with the ideas of groups influenced by Origen rather than with Origen's actual writings. It concluded with the Second Council of Constantinople possibly issuing an anathema against Origen in 553, although scholars dispute whether the Council actually issued the anathema condemning Origen or if it was added later.

First Origenist Crisis

Palestinian phase

The first Origenist crisis began in the late fourth century, coinciding with the beginning of monasticism in Palestine. The first stirring of the controversy came from the Cyprian bishop Epiphanius of Salamis, who was determined to root out all heresies and refute them. Epiphanius attacked Origen in his anti-heretical treatises *Ancoratus* (375) and *Panarion* (376), compiling a list of teachings Origen had espoused that Epiphanius regarded as heretical. Epiphanius's treatises portray Origen as an originally orthodox Christian who had been corrupted and turned into a heretic by the evils of "Greek education". Epiphanius particularly objected to Origen's Subordinationism, his "excessive" use of allegorical hermeneutic, and his habit of proposing ideas about the Bible "speculatively, as exercises" rather than "dogmatically".

Epiphanius asked John II, Bishop of Jerusalem to condemn Origen as a heretic. John refused because a person could not be retroactively condemned as a heretic after death. In 393, a monk named Atarbius advanced a petition to have Origen and his writings to be censured. Tyrannius Rufinus, a priest at the monastery on the Mount of Olives who had been ordained by John of Jerusalem and was a longtime admirer of Origen, rejected the petition outright. Rufinus's close friend and associate Jerome, who had also studied Origen, however, came to agree with the petition. Around the same time, John Cassian introduced Origen's teachings to the West.

In 394, Epiphanius wrote to John of Jerusalem, again asking for Origen to be condemned, insisting that Origen's writings denigrated human sexual reproduction and accused him of being an Encratite. John once again denied this request. By 395, Jerome had allied himself with the anti-Origenists and begged John of Jerusalem to condemn Origen, a plea which John once again refused. Epiphanius launched a campaign against John, openly preaching that John was an Origenist deviant. He successfully persuaded Jerome to break communion with John and ordained Jerome's brother Paulinianus as a priest in defiance of John's authority.

Meanwhile, in 397, Rufinus published a Latin translation of Origen's *On First Principles*. Rufinus was convinced that heretics had interpolated Origen's original treatise and that these interpolations were the source of the heterodox teachings found in it. He therefore heavily modified Origen's text, omitting and altering any parts that disagreed with contemporary Christian orthodoxy. In the introduction to this translation, Rufinus mentioned that Jerome had studied under Origen's disciple Didymus the Blind, implying that Jerome was a follower of Origen. Jerome was so incensed by this that he resolved to produce his Latin translation of *On the First Principles*, in which he promised to translate every word exactly as it was written and lay bare Origen's heresies to the whole world. Jerome's translation has been lost in its entirety.

Egyptian phase

In 399, the Origenist crisis reached Egypt. Theophilus of Alexandria was sympathetic to the supporters of Origen and the church historian, Sozomen, records that he had openly preached the Origenist teaching that God was incorporeal. In his *Festal Letter* of 399, he denounced those who believed that God had a literal, human-like body, calling them illiterate "simple ones". A large mob of Alexandrian monks who regarded God as anthropomorphic rioted in the streets. According to the church historian Socrates Scholasticus, in order to prevent a riot, Theophilus made a sudden about-face and began denouncing Origen. In the year 400, Theophilus summoned a council in Alexandria, which condemned Origen and all his followers as heretics for having taught that God was incorporeal, which they decreed contradicted the only true and orthodox position, which was that God had a literal, physical body resembling that of a human.

Theophilus labelled Origen himself as the "hydra of all heresies" and persuaded Pope Anastasius I to sign the letter of the council, which primarily denounced the teachings of the Nitrian monks associated with Evagrius Ponticus. In 402, Theophilus expelled Origenist monks from Egyptian monasteries (including Isaac of the Cells) and banished the four monks known as the "Tall Brothers", who were leaders of the Nitrian community. John Chrysostom, the Patriarch of Constantinople, granted the Tall Brothers asylum, a fact which Theophilus used to orchestrate John's condemnation and removal from his position at the Synod of the Oak in July of 403. Once John Chrysostom had been deposed, Theophilus restored normal relations with the Origenist monks in Egypt and the first Origenist crisis came to an end.

Second Origenist Crisis

Beginning of the crisis

The Second Origenist Crisis occurred in the sixth century, during the height of Byzantine monasticism. Although the Second Origenist Crisis is not nearly as well documented as the first, it seems to have primarily concerned the teachings of Origen's later followers, rather than anything Origen himself had actually written. Origen's disciple Evagrius Ponticus had advocated contemplative prayer, but other monastic communities prioritized asceticism in prayer, emphasizing fasting, labors, and vigils. Some Origenist monks in Palestine, referred to by their enemies as "Isochristoi" (meaning "those who would assume equality with Christ"), emphasized Origen's teaching of the pre-existence of souls and held that all souls were originally equal to Christ's and would become equal again at the end of time. Another faction of Origenists in the same region instead insisted that Christ was the "leader of many brethren", as the first-created being. This faction was more moderate and they were referred to by their opponents as "Protoktistoi" ("First Createds"). Both factions accused the other of heresy and other Christians accused both of them of heresy.

The Protoktistoi appealed to the Emperor Justinian I to condemn the Isochristoi of heresy through Pelagius, the papal *apocrisarius*. In 543 AD, Pelagius presented Justinian with documents, including a letter denouncing Origen written by Patriarch Mennas of Constantinople, along with excerpts from Origen's *On First Principles* and several anathemata against Origen. A domestic synod convened to address the issue concluded that the Isochristoi's teachings were heretical and, seeing Origen as the ultimate culprit behind the heresy, denounced Origen himself as a heretic as well. Emperor Justinian ordered for all of Origen's writings to be burned. In the west, the *Decretum Gelasianum*, which was written sometime between 519 and 553, listed Origen as an author whose writings were to be categorically banned.

Second Council of Cosntantinople

In 553, during the early days of the Second Council of Constantinople (the Fifth Ecumenical Council), when Pope Vigilius was still refusing to take part in it, despite Justinian holding him hostage, the bishops at the council ratified an open letter which condemned Origen as the leader of the Isochristoi. The letter was not part of the official acts of the council and it more or less repeated the edict issued by the Synod of Constantinople in 543. It cites objectionable writings attributed to Origen, but all the writings referred to in it were actually written by Evagrius Ponticus. After the council officially opened, but while Pope Vigillius was still refusing to take part, Justinian presented the bishops with the problem of a text known as *The Three Chapters*, which attacked the Antiochene Christology.

The bishops drew up a list of anathemata against the heretical teachings contained within *The Three Chapters* and those associated with them. In the official text of the eleventh anathema, Origen is condemned as a Christological heretic, but Origen's name does not appear at all in the *Homonoia*, the first draft of the anathemata issued by the imperial chancery, nor does it appear in the version of the conciliar proceedings that was eventually signed by Pope Vigillius, a long time afterwards. These discrepancies may indicate that Origen's name may have been retrospectively inserted into the text after the Council. Some authorities believe these anathemata belong to an earlier local synod. Even if Origen's name did appear in the original text of the anathema, the teachings attributed to Origen that are condemned in the anathema were actually the ideas of later Origenists, which had very little grounding in anything Origen himself had actually written. In fact, Popes Vigilius (537–555), Pelagius I (556–561), Pelagius II (579–590), and Gregory the Great (590–604) were only aware that the Fifth Council specifically dealt with *The Three Chapters* and make no mention of Origenism or Universalism, nor spoke as if they knew of its condemnation—even though Gregory the Great was opposed to Universalism.

THE CURTAIN INCIDENT

Letter LI in Jerome's letters gives Jerome's Latin translation, made at Epiphanius' request, of his letter, originally in Greek from c. 394, "From Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, to John, Bishop of Jerusalem" (see previous section for wider context). The final section covers the often quoted incident of the curtain, which unlike other passages attributed to Epiphanius and quoted by the Iconoclasts, is accepted as authentic by modern scholars:

> *9. Moreover, I have heard that certain persons have this grievance against me: When I accompanied you to the holy place called Bethel, there to join you in celebrating the Collect, after the use of the Church, I came to a villa called Anablatha and, as I was passing, saw a lamp burning there. Asking what place it was, and learning it to be a church, I went in to pray, and found there a curtain hanging on the doors of the said church, dyed and embroidered. It bore an image either of Christ or of one of the saints; I do not rightly remember whose the image was. Seeing this, and being loth that an image of a man should be hung up in Christ's church contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures, I tore it asunder and advised the custodians of the place to use it as a winding sheet for some poor person. They, however, murmured, and said that if I made up my mind to tear it, it was only fair that I should give them another curtain in its place. As soon as I heard this, I promised that I would give one, and said that I would send it at once. Since then there has been some little delay, due to the fact that I have been seeking a curtain of the best quality to give to them instead of the former one, and thought it right to send to Cyprus for one. I have now sent the best that I could find, and I beg that you will order the presbyter of the place to take the curtain which I have sent from the hands of the Reader, and that you will afterwards give directions that curtains of the other sort—opposed as they are to our religion—shall not be hung up in any church of Christ. A man of your uprightness should be careful to remove an occasion of offence unworthy alike of the Church of Christ and of those Christians who are committed to your charge. Beware of Palladius of Galatia—a man once dear to me, but who now sorely needs God's pity—for he preaches and teaches the heresy of Origen; and see to it that he does not seduce any of those who are intrusted to your keeping into the perverse ways of his erroneous doctrine. I pray that you may fare well in the Lord.*

WRITINGS

His best-known book is the *Panarion* (from Latin *panarium*, "bread basket" < *panis*, "bread"), also known as *Adversus Haereses*, "Against Heresies", presented as a book of antidotes for those bitten by the serpent of heresy. Written between 374 and 377, it forms a handbook for dealing with the arguments of heretics.

It lists, and refutes, 80 heresies, some of which are not described in any other surviving documents from the time. Epiphanius begins with the 'four mothers' of pre-Christian heresy – 'barbarism', 'Scythism', 'Hellenism' and 'Judaism' – and then addresses the 16 pre-Christian heresies that have flowed from them: four philosophical schools (Stoics, Platonists, Pythagoreans and Epicureans), and 12 Jewish sects. There then follows an interlude, telling of the Incarnation of the Word. After this, Epiphanius embarks on his account of the 60 Christian heresies, from assorted gnostics to the various trinitarian heresies of the fourth century, closing with the Collyridians and Messalians.

While Epiphanius often let his zeal come before facts – he admits on one occasion that he writes against the Origenists-based only on hearsay (*Panarion*, Epiphanius 71) – the *Panarion* is a valuable source of information on the Christian Church of the fourth century. It is also an important source regarding the early Jewish gospels such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews circulating among the Ebionites and the Nazarenes, as well as the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus.

One unique feature of the *Panarion* is in the way that Epiphanius compares the various heretics to different poisonous beasts, going so far as to describe in detail the animal's characteristics, how it produces its poison, and how to protect oneself from the animal's bite or poison. For example, he describes his enemy Origen as "a toad noisy from too much moisture which keeps croaking louder and louder." He compares the Gnostics to a particularly dreaded snake "with no fangs." The Ebionites, a Christian sect that followed Jewish law, were described by Epiphanius as "a monstrosity with many shapes, who practically formed the snake-like shape of the mythical many-headed Hydra in himself." In all, Epiphanius describes fifty animals, usually one per sect.

Another feature of the *Panarion* is the access its earlier sections provide to lost works, notably Justin Martyr's work on heresies, the Greek of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*, and Hippolytus' *Syntagma*. The *Panarion* was first translated into English in 1987 and 1990.

Panarion

In early Christian heresiology, the ***Panarion*** (Koinē Greek: Πανάριον, derived from Latin *panarium*, meaning "bread basket"), to which 16th-century Latin translations gave the name *Adversus Haereses* (Latin: "Against Heresies"), is the most important of the works of Epiphanius of Salamis. It was written in Koine Greek beginning in 374 or 375, and issued about three years later, as a treatise on heresies, with its title referring to the text as a "stock of remedies to offset the poisons of heresy." It treats 80 religious sects, either organized groups or philosophies, from the time of Adam to the latter part of the fourth century, detailing their histories, and rebutting their beliefs. The *Panarion* is an important source of information on the Jewish–Christian gospels, the Gospel of the Ebionites, and the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The treatise can be considered a sequel to the *Ancoratus* (374), which takes the form of a letter to the church of Syedra in Pamphylia, describing how the "barque" of the church can counteract the contrary winds of heretical thought, and become "anchored" (ἀγχυρωτός); hence the title of the work; the *Ancoratus* even outlines the content of the *Panarion* within its text.

Content

The treatise begins with two proems: a table of contents, and a description of Epiphanius's methods and purpose in writing. The work is divided into three books, with a total of seven volumes. It ends with what has since been called *De Fide*, a short description of the orthodox catholic faith of the Great Church.

The number of sects covered in the work is based on Song of Songs 6:8-9, quoted below in the original Hebrew, and in the English translation from JPS 1917:

ח שִׁשִּׁים הַמָּה מְלָכוֹת, וּשְׁמֹנִים פִּילַגְשִׁים; וַעֲלָמוֹת, אֵין מִסְפָּר.	**8** There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and maidens without number.
ט אַחַת הִיא, יוֹנָתִי תַמָּתִי	**9** My dove, my undefiled, is but one;

Epiphanius interpreted the fourscore (80) concubines as sects, who take the name of Christ without being truly matrimonial; the threescore queens as the generations from Adam to Jesus; the one dove as the true wife, the church; and the numberless virgins as all the philosophies unrelated to Christianity.

The first section of the first of the three books contains an account of 20 heretical sects before the time of Jesus; the remaining portion is occupied with the description of 60 sects of Christianity. However, the total number of sects is actually 77, because three of the first 20 are general names: Hellenism, Samaritanism, and Judaism. In the editions of the *Panarion*, each heresy is numbered in order; hence it is customary to quote the *Panarion* as follows: Epiphanius, *Haer.* N [the number of the heresy].

The general form, though not universal, in which Epiphanius described each sect included four parts: a brief mention of the sect's relationship to previously-mentioned sects; a description of the sect's beliefs; a lengthy refutation of its doctrine, including arguments from the scriptures and *reductio ad absurdum* of their beliefs; a comparison of the sect to a repulsive animal, particularly a snake.

Necessarily much of the information in this large compilation varies in value. The *Panarion* reflects the character of Epiphanius and his method of working. Sometimes, his intense passion prevents him from inquiring carefully into the doctrines he opposes. Thus, on his own avowal (*Haer.*, lxxi), he speaks of Apollinarianism on hearsay. At Constantinople, he had to acknowledge to the Origenist monks, whom he opposed, that he was not acquainted with either their school or their books, and that he only spoke from hearsay (Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VIII, xl). There is, however, much information not found elsewhere. Chapters devoted only to the doctrinal refutation of heresies are rare. As an apologist, Epiphanius appeared generally weak to Photius.

The *Panarion* furnishes very valuable information concerning the religious history of the fourth century, either because the author confines himself to transcribing documents preserved by him alone, or because he writes down his personal observations. With regard to Hieracas (*Haer.*, lxvii), he makes known a curious Egyptian sect by whom asceticism and intellectual work were equally esteemed. In connection with the Melitians of Egypt (*Haer.*, lxviii), he has preserved important fragments of contemporary Egyptian history of this movement. With regard to Arianism (*Haer.*, lxix), he provides an apocryphal letter of Constantine. He transcribes two letters of Arius. He is the only one to give us any information concerning the Gothic sect of the Audians (*Haer.*, lxx), as well as the Arabian sect of the Collyridians. He has made use of the lost report of the discussion between Photinus (*Haer.*, lxxi), and Basil of Ancyra. He has transcribed a very important letter from Bishop Marcellus of Ancyra (*Haer.*, lxxii) to Pope Julius, and fragments of the treatise of Acacius of Caesarea against Marcellus. With regard to the Semiarians (*Haer.*, lxxiii), he gives in the Acts of the Council of Ancyra (358) a letter from Basil of Ancyra and one from George of Laodicea, and the stenographic text of a singular sermon of Melitius at the time of his installation at Antioch. In the chapter dealing with the Anomeans (*Haer.*, lxxvi) he has preserved a monograph of Aetius.

Epiphanius also wrote the *Anacephalaeoses*, as an epitome, or abridged version, of his *Panarion*. Augustine used them as the basis for his *Contra Omnes Haereses*, "Against all Heresies".

Translations

The original text was written in Koine Greek. Three Latin versions were published in the 16th and 17th centuries, from writers focused on ecclesiastical interests. Since then, writers have been interested in the historical content of the text itself.

An Old Church Slavonic translation was made, probably at the Preslav school during the reign of Tsar Simeon I of Bulgaria in the early 10th century. It is preserved in the 12th-century *kormchaya* of Ephraim. A full Russian translation was published in the 19th century. A partial translation exists in German and another in English (by Philip Amidon).

The first English translation of the entire *Panarion* was published in 1987 (Book I) and 1993 (Books II and III), by Frank Williams. This was based on Karl Holl's edition, released in 1915 (Book I), 1922 (Book II), and 1933 (Book III), totaling 1500 pages.

Other works

His earliest known work is the *Ancoratus* (the well anchored man), which includes arguments against Arianism and the teachings of Origen. Aside from the polemics by which he is known, Epiphanius wrote a work of biblical antiquarianism, called, for one of its sections, *On Weights and Measures* (περὶ μέτρων καὶ στάθμων). It was composed in Constantinople for a Persian priest, in 392, and survives in Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian translations (this last is found in *Shatberd ms 1141* along with *Physiologus* and *De Gemmis*). The first section discusses the canon of the Old Testament and its versions, the second of measures and weights, and the third, the geography of Palestine. The texts appear not to have been given a polish but consist of rough notes and sketches, as Allen A. Shaw, a modern commentator, concluded; nevertheless Epiphanius' work on metrology was important in the history of measurement.

Another work, *On the Twelve Gems* (*De Gemmis*), survives in a number of fragments, the most complete of which is the Georgian. The letter written by Epiphanius to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, in 394 and preserved in Jerome's translation, is discussed above. The collection of homilies traditionally ascribed to a "Saint Epiphanius, bishop" are dated in the late fifth or sixth century and are not connected with Epiphanius of Salamis by modern scholars.

Such was Epiphanius's reputation for learning that the *Physiologus*, the principal source of medieval bestiaries, came to be widely falsely attributed to him.

WORKS

- *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book I (Sects 1–46)* Frank Williams, translator, 1987 (E.J. Brill, Leiden) ISBN 90-04-07926-2

- *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book II and III (Sects 47–80, De Fide)* Frank Williams, translator, 1993 (E.J. Brill, Leiden) ISBN 90-04-09898-4

- *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis* Philip R. Amidon, translator, 1990 (Oxford University Press, New York) (This translation contains selections rather than the full work.) ISBN 0-19-506291-4

- *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, James Elmer Dean, ed, 1935. (Chicago) [English translation of *On Weights and Measures*; available at Epiphanius of Salamis, Weights and Measures (1935) pp.11-83. English translation]

- *Epiphanius de Gemmis: the Old Georgian Version and the Fragments of the Armenian Version. ed. Robert Pierpont Blake; de Vis, H. (1934). London: Christophers.*

- *Epiphanius von Salamis, Über die zwölf Steine im hohepriesterlichen Brustschild (De duodecim gemmis rationalis). Nach dem Codex Vaticanus Borgianus Armenus 31 herausgegeben und übersetzt* by Felix Albrecht and Arthur Manukyan (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 37), 2014 (Gorgias Press: Piscataway) ISBN 978-1-4632-0279-8 (German edition).

- *Anacephalaiosis* (originally thought to be the work of Epihanius of Salamis, although this opinion is now disputed).